FREEDOM

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d. NOVEMBER 14 1964 Vol 25 No 35

'It is the nature of a government not to be ruled, but to rule. And as it derives its power from the army, it will never give up the army nor will it ever renounce that for which the army is designed—war.'

LEO TOLSTOY

Bolivia!

Help us get the Anti-Election Campaign out of the Red!

That was Monopoly, that is!

WHILE it is true that the Government's intention to Nationalise steel is a political question, in so far as the two major parties are making a political issue of it, with the Liberals seeking to shine and to influence by a compromise programme (as we write last Monday's debate had not yet started, and a number of Scottish MPs had not yet arrived in London for the head-counting at the end of the day),* the *real* issue it seems to us is basically one of economics and finance, and planning. If, as is alleged by some, the government is committed to Steel nationalisation in order to placate the Labour Party's "left wing", then all we can say is that the "Left Wing" is more outdated than one had imagined, and that the Parliamentary Labour Party, and Mr. Wilson's Cabinet are not as tough and determined to remain in office as we had imagined.

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AS we see it Mr. Wilson has launched his Steel Nationalisation proposals at the onset of his term of office (*a*) because, from a purely procedural point of view, the chances are that he can rely on enjoying his slender majority in the division lobbies (as it is, one of his supporters has already broken a leg —but will be able to vote—and another has been pushed off to hospital

time—though of course the Tories will also have their casualties, and the Liberals unless they are preserved in cotton wool will have theirs!) and (*b*) that in practical—financial, economic and planning—terms unless the Steel Industry can be brought under State control the Government feels it cannot implement major reforms as outlined in Mr. Wilson's programme (read for him last week by the Queen, with all the pomp and ceremony as demanded by tradition—it is clear that Mr. Wilson is not cutting out that part of the cackle, or the mumbo-jumbo).

The Labour government's steel plan, as we understand it, is to take over a dozen of the 300 companies alleged by the British Iron and Steel Federation to constitute the iron and steel industry (that dozen, by the way, produce 90 per cent. of this country's steel), and thereby stimulate the kind of competition which will increase productivity and bring down the price of steel, which in turn will make British manufactured goods more competitive in overseas markets, which will increase exports which in turn will raise standards of living in Britain and make it possible to have more hospitals, better conditions for the aged. And more schools; more higher education, more doctors will mean more production, because Britain will lead the industrial word, and that will mean more exports . . . and so on. This is, of course what the Liberal Party want too and, if we really could penetrate their stiff upper lips, it's what Sir Alec and his ilk want too!

During the past years the Iron and Steel companies have spent millions of pounds on advertising how efficient, and competitive they are. Surely for the Industry without which Britain as an industrial nation could not function, to have to resort to these kinds of tactics far from convincing thinking people (as opposed to voters at general elections) of its efficiency should fill them with grave doubts. Even the Tory government which, in opposition, is making a major issue of the new Labour government's intention to nationalise the major steel companies, created a so-called public body—the Iron and Steel Board—presumably to safeguard the public interest—an admission surely that the public interest was not necessarily the same as the companies'? One of the things this Tory creature did was to fix the maximum prices for steel product which it goes without saying, mo of the steel firms treated as actua prices. But the Tory-governmen appointed Restrictive Practice Court has, to quote from a featur in the *Guardian* (*No Compromise o Steel,* by Charles de Peyer).

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What are the reasons for this lack of support? Employers can threaten, and no doubt did, to break the lads' apprenticeship indentures if they withdrew their labour. This is no small thing, especially in places like Liverpool and Glasgow where jobs are few. Their trade unions have also attacked any strike action. Difficulties of organisation and of liaison between different areas have also been an obstacle to a well-supported withdrawal of labour.

There also seems to be a split in the apprentices own organisation, for at the week-end conference before the strike, four organisers walked out of the meeting after the 385 delegates had turned down their plan for the one-day strike. Joe Bush, one of the four, had been removed from the Manchester District Direct Action Committee because he supported another conference in Manchester on September 27th. Now, he and some of his supporters have formed what is described as a "rival" National Apprentices Wages and Conditions Committee. It is this Committee that called for the one-day strike.

The Chairman of the Manchester Direct Action Committee, Michael Hughes, has accused the other organisation of "factionalism". He and his committee feel that the one-day strike is wrong and that a prolonged stoppage should be organised. They are planning to do this commencing from March 29th and are organising a national liaison committee for all the main industrial areas and to help back up their action, they are setting up a national strike fund.

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First we had the indaba of Chiefs who unanimously supported Mr. Smith's demand for independence with the present constitution. This constitution it has been calculated by Sir Robert Tredgold would mean African rule in sixty years—but if the Smith Government achieves independence one doubts whether sixty years would elapse before African rule were implemented.

Secondly, Mr. Smith, in his referendum of the white population has achieved very strong support for independence which has only confirmed the European attitude shown at the by-elections when two European "opposition" members (one of them Sir Roy Welensky, leader of the 'opposition' Rhodesia Party) were treated with near contempt.

In actual fact all that has been shown is that the traditionalist African Chiefs, as salaried Government employees, support the Government. It only needs the comment that "he who holds the purse strings calls the tune" to dispose of the notion that the Chief's attitude is typical of African opinion. It has also been shown that a vast majority of the white population is strongly in favour of Smith's reactionary regime—in defence of the "white man's civilized standards" the settlers will gladly support imprisonment of the real opposition and the banning of the opposition press. We should not forget that these settlers are the ones who claim they are the bastion of the "free world" against Communism. Nor should we forget the loud, long utterances of the settlers when condemning the imprisonment of the opposition in Ghana or the banning of newspapers elsewhere in newly independent African states.

Even though Smith has merely demonstrated the obvious, it has seemed to provide strong gunpowder for his independence plot. One can sit back as an anarchist and watch the clash of the British and Rhodesian Government with detached interest. For myself I want neither the settlers in power in Rhodesia, not the African nationalists of either party or both in power. Nor do I want the Labour Government in power in Britain, nor again do I want a Tory Government.

What I want is that the people of Rhodesia should wrest control of their country from the British Government and from the settlers *and* from the African nationalists. Only then will the people achieve independence and freedom. It would be a struggle indeed and its outcome would be hard to predict, but if some people think this possibility is unthinkable, let them think again

J.W.

ANARCHY 45

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It appears from these splits that the inevitable has happened. Political groupings are trying their utmost to take over and there have been reports that the National Committee has Communist support. I have also heard that the Trotskyists are in on the act. Of course this is the same old story. Both these organisations will seek to run and control any apprentice rank and file movement and if they do not succeed in this, they will try to smash it.

This seems to me to be the present and the biggest danger to any apprentice movement which seeks to act for the apprentices themselves. It is they themselves who must decide on what action is to be taken, not King Street or Clapham Common. This action should also have the moral, financial or outright support, if possible, of the adult workers in the industry.

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OVER A YEAR ON STRIKE

The strike at the William Denby dyeworks, near Bradford, has now been going on for over a year. It started when a foreman operated a machine during a tea-break and some fifty workers walked out in protest. This was at a time when work was short and shop stewards had banned all supervisory staff from working machines. The management acted quickly and sent over 250 men and women their cards through the post, all of whom were members of the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers. In with their cards was a letter, part of which read " . . . we look forward to a happier future with an open shop."

Since then, although some strikers have gone back and some have found other jobs, they have maintained a picket at the factory gates. The 115 men and women strikers have tried to persuade lorry drivers not to deliver or take away goods and the other workers to join them, but so far they have not forced the management to give in. All this time they have remained isolated in their struggle, a struggle which is in fact the basic one for trade union organisation. The management just did not want this in their works, but if other workers had given their support, the story would have been different. Although the strike is official, no other unions have given any real support to the Denby strikers.

Recently the T.U.C. rejected an appeal to help the dispute and more or less told the Dyers and Bleachers Union to get the strikers back to work, going cap in hand to the management. Just after this, there was some violence on the picket line when vehicles were stoned. This had happened before because the management has been using closed lorries to bring in labour. Now Mr. Gunther, the Minister of Labour, has stepped in and has asked Mr. Sharp, the general secretary of the Dyers and Bleachers union, for a report on the dispute. It is reported that some trade unionists hope for an inquiry into the strike, and that "several ideas" are being discussed for settling the dispute.

The management recently turned down one suggestion, put forward by the union, for an independent person to try to get the employers and the union together for talks. After all, Mr. Wright, the Denby Managing Director, and his board are quite happy as things are. They have maintained production, if not increased it, and are paying a higher dividend of 30 per cent compared to 5 per cent last year.

Are these strikers going to have to crawl back and beg for their jobs, or is the support of other workers handling the products of Denbys going to be gained? This is the only way these 115 men and women are going to get their jobs back. Their stand against the management should have the backing of all trade unionists for an injury to one is an injury to all.

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BOLIVIA

BACKGROUND STORY BY A BOLIVIAN CORRESPONDENT

IN 1910, Franz Tamayo wrote: "The land makes man; and it is in the land that one must find the causes of his thinking, his work, his morality . . . In the native Yankee, despite his European appearance, what comes up is the Red Indian. Yankee temerity and audacity are not English."

In 1930, the Standard Oil Co. convinced Paraguayan politicians to declare war on Bolivia. The Chaco War lasted for three years, and it was fought in a tropical desert, but it was similar to the holocaust of trench warfare in France in 1914-18. Paraguay was the victor, a big chunk of Bolivian territory the prize. Bolivia had 50,000 dead, but Paraguay had most of its youth killed. And then, it was found that the conquered territory had no oil. A few years later, rich deposits of oil were discovered on the Bolivian side of the new Bolivia-Paraguay frontier in the Chaco.

The Chaco War produced an awakening in middle-class Bolivian youth. They discovered that feudalism was not to be tolerated, that it touched them as well as the lower classes. The result of the awakening was to form a new political party, the MNR (Nationalist Revo lutionary Movement).

The founders of the MNR, Carlos Montenegro, Augusto Céspedes, Víctor Paz Estenssoro and others, were all friends. They had gone to the Chaco War drafted from the university. As students, they formed a group and called themselve anarchists. Thus, the beginning of the MNR was tinged with anarchist ideas.

Meanwhile, before the Chaco War and after, Simón Patiño was making millions with his tin mines. The other tin barons were Aramayo and Horschild. The biggest exploiter was Patiño, living in New York or Paris.

The miners worked chewing coca to dull the pangs of hunger in their stomachs. The women worked on the surface, their babies fastened to their backs, breaking up stones with a heavy hammer. They are called "palliris" and their work is similar to the work of convicts. Only that. the hammer is not as heavy as a sledge hammer, a concession Patiño made to slender feminine wrists.

Whenever the miners rebelled with a sit-down strike, or a demonstration, Patiño would send two or three aeroplanes from an airfield in Perú to machine-gun them from the air. The pilots were Yankees, and miners and "palliris" died at the same time. Sometimes, isolated groups of miners, or, in the cities, groups of artisans and workers tried to make a revolution without the blessings of politicians, MNR and others. Failure meant death and they always failed.

Because the Army was still all powerful. It had the weapons and nothing could be done against it without weapons. To remedy the situation, thousands died in the years between the end of the Chaco War, 1933, and 1952. It became a habit to assault police-stations to capture arms. So, five, six or seven men would die so that one man could escape with an old Mauser to hide it in a safe place for the day when the magic word "Revolution" would be on everybody's lips. At that time, a lonely Spanish anarchist went all over the country organizing syndicates, teaching guerilla tactics, even teaching MNR politicians about syndicalism. He was finally killed.

In 1936, Busch became president, placed by a military *coup d'etat*. But he had been a hero of the Chaco War and he hated feudalism and capitalism. He ousted the generals and tried to stop money leaving the country under Patiño, Aramayo and Horschild. Aramayo and Horschild lived in Bolivia. Sometimes. In one of those times, he managed to make them prisoners and was about to shoot them when one of his ministers convinced him not to. He let them go. His attempts to stop the tin barons from making profits only for foreign countries like the United States and England, met with strong opposition. Busch was an impulsive man, as impulsive as Calígula. Brought up in the jungle he had savage customs. When he heard that a priest had raped a small girl, he had him shot immediately. In 1939, he committed suicide or suicide was committed on him. The tin barons were still in power, the Army still their lackey.

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Villarroel was naive and full of good intentions. His character helped him pave the way to hell. He had been in the Chaco War, he had been stuck in an Army office until RADEPA decided he was the sucker they needed. Even so, it took them some time to convince him. He loved his paper work in the Army and he hated to leave it. He continued with his hobby while in power, classifying every paper he could lay hands on. But he also took his job seriously. He was the first one to say publicly that the Indian, Aymaras and Quechuas, had to be free. They worked the land, they should own it, but his talk against serfdom only excited latifundists into a greater love for their land. While RADEPA went on torturing and assassinating.

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The MNR gradually became "the voice of the people". Only those who could read and write were allowed to vote and that meant that out of 3,000,000, only 500,000 could vote. Between *coup d'etat and coup d'etat* the existing parties held elections. These parties were the Conservative Party, the Liberal, the MNR and the Christian Democrats. The Conservatives represented feudalism, the Liberals the middle class, the MNR the left, the Christian Democrats the Church. The Liberal party died in 1939, when Franz Tamayo was elected President. On the day he was to take possession of government, the Army stepped in. The other parties became small groups satisfied with right-wing rule. Except the MNR. They managed to have deputies elected for Congress (not in the Irish sense). In the eyes of the people, the rare MNR deputies in Congress became heroes. Especially one Víctor Paz Estenssoro. He dared to criticize the tin barons and other injustices. Workers could go to him with their complaints and he would speak up for RADEPA decided he was the sucker they needed. Even so, it took them some time to convince him. He loved his paper work in the Army and he hated to leave it. He continued with his hobby while in power, classifying every paper he could lay hands on. But he also took his job seriously. He was the first one to say publicly that the Indian, Aymaras and Quechuas, had to be free. They worked the land, they should own it, but his talk against serfdom only excited latifundists into a greater love for their land. While RADEPA went on torturing and assassinating.

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Is there a Moral to this Story ?

AGAIN and again when arguing with communists, anarchists are told "There's nothing wrong with having leaders, it's just that they (these Leaders) must be good leaders." Leaders who will provide the dynamic necessary to lead the working class into the classless, governmentless, moneyless society.

But when we look at the leaders of the workers state (The Soviet Union) what do we find?

Lenin. Well he was a good leader according to the communists.

Trotsky. He was a renegade, a fascist who betrayed the revolution. As were Bukarin, Radek, Kaminev, Zinoviev and almost all the other old bolsheviki.

Stalin. He was a power drunk maniac who created a
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BACKGROUND STORY BY A BOLIVIAN CORRESPONDENT

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the MNR was no competitor in the future.

In 1951, the communists, always the same handful in Bolivia, agitated the workers in La Paz. They promised the Revolution. The workers, living in a district called Villa Victoria (influence of the British Railways), came out to throw stones and fire some old Mausers. The Army trapped them in Villa Victoria and they sought refuge in a forest of eucalyptus. The Army brought heavy artillery. On the day of the massacre of Villa Victoria, no communist agitator died. They lived in other districts of the city.

In the elections of 1951, Victor Paz Estenssoro was elected President by an almost overwhelming majority. It was a triumph for the MNR politicians by surprise. It was first years of exile had been in the Argentine, where he licked Perón's boots. Perón got tired of his begging and Paz emigrated to Uruguay. Elected President, a military junta stepped in, saying Paz was only fit to be an exile.

In March 1952, the Aymaras were already organised in commandos to make the Revolution. No politician was behind them. They were going to attack La Paz, not only to free themselves, but also the half-castes. But on April 9, the whole working-class came out to the streets. The spontaneous movement caught the MNR poliicians by surprise. It was not what they had planned. When news of the Revolution came out, other cities and the miners joined in spontaneously. Without arms, the people assaulted barracks for them. One could see two hundred men doggedly following one man with a rifle, waiting for him to be killed so that the next one could pick up the weapon. In the first hours, the MNR politicians, Juan Lechín and Siles Suazo leading, tried to stop the revolt. They were caught in the avalanche and had to go along with it. On the third day, Siles and Lechín were ready to surrender. They agreed with General

The MNR was in power and Paz Estenssoro flew in the next day to claim his Presidency. He was given a hero's welcome, while his personal bodyguard went to pump three bullets into a personal enemy of Paz.

The MNR politicians had decided long before that the Americans should not be angered with the nationalization of industries. They feared they would not subsist for long if they did. But Juan Lechín stood beside Paz Estenssoro in that packed balcony of the Palace and behind Juan Lechín was a miner prodding him with his rifle, whispering "the mines". Juan Lechín was forced to shout into the microphone, interrupting Paz's speech: "And we shall nationalize the mines!"

Most of the mines were exhausted. All the machinery was old. But, so as not to anger the United States, Patiño, Aramayo and Horschild were given full compensation.

Paz Estenssoro's first term was only for four years. His government nationalized the mines, created a National Health Service, drafted the Agrarian Reform. The Aymaras did not wait for decrees, titles and deeds signed by bureaucrats. They had the weapons now. If a politician tried to interfere, he was shot. But those Aymaras and Quechuas, especially the Quechuas living in isolated places, or in weak communities, found that the Agrarian Reform official replaced the feudal landowner, sometimes demonstrating a more gifted capacity for exploitation. The very repressed half-caste has always hated the "indian". Officially, they had to call the Indian "peasant."

During his first term, Paz Estenssoro showed a great capacity for resentment. He created concentration camps to keep the opposition out of the way. He employed eager sadists and many innocents began to fill the camps. He made a Chilean the Chief of Police, who had the habit of keeping a pet tiger in his office. Paz created a special Gestapo office of his own called Political Control, which was inaugurated with whippings with barbed wire. Speech-making was for Paz an occasion to show his hate and resentment. He used a Spanish mingled with Aymara words. He called the ladies of the upper class "liwi-ñuñus" (fallen breasts), an insult no lady of any class likes. He made "liwi-ñuñu" a synonym for capitalist, feudalist, bourgeois and all those who had frustrated his ambition. Because he was aggressive, the people thought he was one of them, as humble as they were. But, Paz soon had the gold reserves of the country stored away in a Swiss bank for safe-keeping. In the University, he had

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American Aid brought 700 American families to live in La Paz. The city has had a stable population of 300,000 ever since 1900. Fornication is a national pastime, but child care is not. Houses were never built, so when the Americans caused rents to go sky-high, housing shortage became acute.

American Aid took strange forms. Most of the organizations had to be paid by the Bolivian government, American staff and all. It was giving money with one hand and taking it away with the other. If not, American charity was resorted to, and many organizations fell under American Methodist Church rule. Then, the Americans being obsessed with security, made sure no native they employed was a "Red" or even lukewarm leftish. So all the fascists and reactionaries were given jobs and salaries in dollars.

When Paz Estenssoro ended his term, the MNR was still strong despite the corruption. But then, corruption is so ingrained in the people that they had the opportunity to laugh and call a certain politician an idiot because he had resigned after three months of office without pinching a penny.

(To be concluded).

Is there a Moral to this Story?

AGAIN and again when arguing with communists, anarchists are told "There's nothing wrong with having leaders, it's just that they (these Leaders) must be good leaders." Leaders who will provide the dynamic necessary to lead the working class into the classless, governmentless, moneyless society.

But when we look at the leaders of the workers state (The Soviet Union) what do we find?

Lenin. Well he was a good leader according to the communists.

Trotsky. He was a renegade, a fascist who betrayed the revolution. As were Bukarin, Radek, Kaminev, Zinoviev and almost all the other old bolsheviki.

Stalin. He was a power drunk maniac who created a reign of terror in the Soviet Union.

Beria. He was an agent of western imperialism and also kept a harem (very bad hat).

Malenkov. Who was denounced by Krushchev as an incompetent who made a complete wreck of Soviet agriculture while he was in power.

Krushchev. Who we are now told: Violated government rules, inflated his own image, filled posts with his family and friends and was guilty of embarrassing international buffoonery. His personal initiative at home and in agriculture since 1962 was disastrous.

And still the search goes on.

JACK STEVENSON

FREEDOM

November 14 1964 Vol 25 No 35

From Monopoly to Monopoly

Continued from page 1

was" except that the Liberals haven't yet turned their heads to realise that "That's Capitalism" is followed by "that was" in so far as competition, as a basic ingredient of capitalism, is concerned. Perhaps we are not altogether fair to the Liberals' statement on steel published last weekend. They say, in fact, that they "would be prepared to consider public shareholding in certain major steel firms" as opposed to the Labour Party's plan to take over the major companies which would remove "even the modest amount of competition that exists today" which they also describe as a "state backed cartel" (It will be interesting to see how they vote in the Parliamentary debate!)*

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IN this writer's opinion the hey-day of capitalism is over, in part as a result of the unconscious and conscious pressures from the underprivileged but largely and inevitably because capitalism has been, as it were, consumed by its own avidity.

The capitalist system fundamentally existed to serve and protect the material and status interests of a very small section of the community. It is significant and encouraging, to anarchists at least, to note that NO privileged minority in history, pre-capitalist, capitalist or post-capitalist (that is the self-proclaimed "communist" post-1917 part of the world), has succeeded in maintaining a unity, the *status quo* within its own ranks, or of maintaining its privlege without depending on the support and services of a much larger number of people outside the privileged elite. (People like the leader of the *apartheid* movement in South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd, has understood the dilemma when he tells his followers that *apartheid* means, among other things that the whites will have to do their own dirty work—or, more accurately, that they will have to employ whites to do it, and in the long term this logic will be his undoing).

The inability of the capitalist class to agree on how they would share the spoils of exploitation has led to the growth of mass production, technology and mass markets as well as mass wars and a cold war economy. It has also led to monopoly capitalism, to a capitalism which is becoming impersonal, official, the State. Millions of working people today in this country are being hired and fired by people who are employees like themselves with no more job "security" than they have. The other millions, who work for bosses they can confront in the flesh, either in the long run drive him into liquidation or into the arms of the monopolists if they haven't in the meantime succeeded in making him aware of a community of interests—in which case he is no longer a boss.

*In fact they voted with the Tory opposition.

Do They BELIEVE in Capitalism?

IN saying that the hey-day of capitalism is over we are not suggesting that the capitalist system is on its last legs. Far from it. What we are saying is that it is not what it was and for the reasons outlined above. And as the privileged minority grows so also does the struggle for domination and survival by the privileged caucus within it, as its class unity decreases. It is when the

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As a matter of interest and information we would refer readers to a passage in a book which we always consult when we seek to quote the Labour Party without fear of contradiction. We refer of course to *The Labour Party in Perspective*, by Clem Attlee*, Mr. Wilson's right-hand man at the Cenotaph Last Sunday and his Grand Old Man in the House of Lords (Lord Attlee) to that passage in it where we are told

> The Labour Party stands for such great changes in the economic and social structure that it cannot function successfully unless it obtains a majority which is prepared to put its principles into practise. Those principles are so far-reaching that they affect every department of the public service and every phase of policy. The plain fact is that a Socialist Party cannot hope to make a success of administering the Capitalist system because it does not believe in it.

To such a dilemma there can surely be only one solution: "*Abolish* the capitalist system". How, that is the question all socialists and anarchists should be asking themselves now just as a hundred years ago, but in the context of our time. We shall attempt to show what this means, so far as we see it, in a forthcoming article. (Meantime may we recommend readers to listen to the Reith lectures (BBC) on "The Age of Automation", by Sir Leon Bagrit.)

*London, 1937.

ROUND

TOO often one pauses to smell a rose without realising that it is but part of a wreath for the dead and that by its very association marked as a companion in corruption, yet the heady scent of the arranged bouquet will always lure us away from the solitary flower fighting to live among the refuse and debris of our cities. Too too often we waste time and space over the major exhibitions for they offer the expensive catalogue, the crowded walls and the free wine and we accept this at the expense of the living painter who after years of work and travail has for two brief weeks managed to find a dealer and a gallery that will grant him the opportunity to show his work to a Town high-tailing it to the Tate or the V & A to examine, with the Town's press, the latest exhumation of some worthy but dead geinus.

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Over all this exhibition there hangs the whip of masochistic hatred for themselves and a tainted air of nordic twilight for these are no heralds of Hitler's rackrent Valhalla but a group of petit bourgeois Sunday Painters working off their parochial *weltschmerz* Individually they are worthless; collectively they have a minor historical value as one sad facet of the Germanic soul, for like the English Surrealists they survive not because they were mediocrities but because they were a collective mediocrity.

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A REPORT of the Medical Research Council stated that the ratio of Strontium 90 to Calcium in the bones of young children doubled in 1963 compared with 1962. The Upsala Seismological Institute reported that it had registered an underground nuclear explosion at Novoya Zemlya in the Arctic Circle. The bomb was equal to at least five kilotons but it was probable that the force was several times greater. The Chinese nuclear explosion on October 16 resulted in a slight rise in levels of radio-activity at several points in Western Canada. Traces of fall-out were also picked up by the Atomic Energy Authority at Chilton, near Harwell, England. The United States conducted a low-yield underground nuclear test in Nevada, their eighteenth this year. Mr. McNamara, the US Secretary of Defence said that America could survive a nuclear attack and destroy the attacking nation. America, says Mr. McNamara, has 1,000 bombers, 500 of which are on a fifteen-minute alert, also 800 intercontinental ballistic missiles, whilst Russia has fewer than "one-fourth of this number." Mr. McNamara believes that the US superiority over Russia will continue in the foreseeable future. The November 2nd parade in Red Square featured two rockets ninety feet long which it is believed are intermediate range missiles with a range of 1,500 miles, also featured in the parade was an "anti-missile missile" which the Russians say can seek out and destroy hostile missiles before they cross into Russia. At a Kremlin reception Marshal Malinovsky said "Don't touch us. The Soviet Army cannot be pushed around", he further said he did not do as Mr. McNamara did "who threatened at any moment to destroy the Soviet Union. Those who threaten to destroy other nations are not serious people. Nobody must imagine that they can have an easy victory fighting us". . . .

THE DEAD of two World Wars were remembered for two minutes. . . .

THE NEW ZEALAND Presbytarian Assembly advised Christians not to address God as 'you' which was too familiar. They should use 'thou' which strongly suggests that when we address God we are not addressing an equal. "Today it is a temptation to be too familiar with God and overlook the need for reverence". Archbishop Leo Fishinger of Strasbourg urged the Vatican Council to rehabilitate Galileo. Cardinal Browne a member of the Roman Curia told the Vatican Council that family planning was a subject "about which a discussion cannot usefully be held". The Cardinal said that family planning was a subject for scientific discovery, not theological discussion to solve. "The Church can only await the outcome of present-day research". The 'problem' columnist in the Irish *Sunday Independent* answered a question as to whether Catholics in Ireland may attend non-Catholic schools since Catholics in Britain are allowed to do this. Father Lucius McClean, O.F.M., replies that this is not usually tolerated. "It would seem that in his locality in England there was no Catholic school near enough to his home to make the observance of the law possible or convenient; this is the sort of case in which a bishop will tolerate the attendance of non-Catholic schools, since there is really no choice in the matter". . . .

AT WEST LONDON COURT a 19-year-old Fulham youth was put on probation for two wears, after a week in custody at Borstal for being found guilty of being found by night in possession of hourse-breaking implements—a pair of gloves—withiut lawful excuse. . . .

IT IS reported in the *New Yorker* that there is now being marketed a product called "Lady Macbeth Spot Remover" for erasing bloodstains.

JON QUIXOTE

ROUND THE GALLERIES

TOO often one pauses to smell a rose without realising that it is but part of a wreath for the dead and that by its very association marked as a companion in corruption, yet the heady scent of the arranged bouquet will always lure us away from the solitary flower fighting to live among the refuse and debris of our cities. Too too often we waste time and space over the major exhibitions for they offer the expensive catalogue, the crowded walls and the free wine and we accept this at the expense of the living painter who after years of work and travail has for two

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There is a feeling of space within these frames and his painted horizons open like Keats's windows onto a world of dreams personified. Yet there is much in Guthrie's work that could

neither better nor worse than that painted by the average Sunday Painter who has never fallen foul of the Law. And one is made to acknowledge to oneself that there is no reason why it should be otherwise. I have always held that it is an offence against an artist to offer a different standard of judgment because he has suffered imprisonment when all that we can ask of

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There is a feeling of space within these frames and his painted horizons open like Keats's windows onto a world of dreams personified. Yet there is much in Guthrie's work that could become slick and tasteless, He has taken over Lowry's habit of flooding the canvas with a crawling skin of white that by constant and expected repetition now has that look of stale cream.

Lowry made his reputation with his industrial backgrounds. Quaint working class ghettoes forever bathed in a winter's light they belonged to the nostalgic world of W. W. Jacobs and the postcards of Donald McGill, but the hawking cry of the sleek dealers has forced too much repeating on an exhausted subject and what the old man offers us now is as artificial as Coronation Street. This is Guthrie's problem with his easily painted seas and dark white Cornish skies for, having captured the infinity of his vision, he must now have the courage to attempt the particular. But the problem is his.

Within the T.U.C. Congress House at 23 Great Russell Street, W.C.1., is an exhibition of paintings and scraper board work by men recently released from prisons. All the work was produced within prisons and is offered for sale to the public at roughly a one week's pay packet for an average painting and one is grateful to report that they are selling even though, by one of those oddities of the fates, the painting Autumn Tints should have been purchased literally from under my nose by a woman magistrate for nine guineas even as I leaned forward to read its number. In this type of exhibition one always enters hoping that here at last is some suppressed work of a major talent finally allowed to flower but as always one finds that here is work neither better nor worse than that painted by the average Sunday Painter who has never fallen foul of the Law. And one is made to acknowledge to oneself that there is no reason why it should be otherwise. I have always held that it is an offence against an artist to offer a different standard of judgment because he has suffered imprisonment when all that we can ask of him is that, like Ibarrola, he manages to convey to the world at liberty the misery and the heartache of those wasted years. For if the artist can achieve anything it is to speak for those who must of necessity go silent to their graves taking their bleeding wounds with them. but of this exhibition only R. B. Hill speaks for the silent with his figures of matted browns and greys imprisoned against a dead background. But there is good work here by men such as E. D. Hawkes with his fine scraperboard work, L. W. Mara with his mosaic street scenes and R. B. Hill with his questing search for truth despite his limitations.

These three painters, all in their early thirties, are repeaters, serving short terms of three years or less, and this work, with the exception of Mr. Hill, was their escape from the realities of their imprisonment. Though painted within prison its subject-matter always lay beyond the bleak and sour walls of their cells, a painted key to an imprisoned heart.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

The Anti-Election Campaign is STILL IN THE RED!

PLEASE SEND WHAT YOU CAN!

REPORTS ON ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN NOTTINGHAM.

In Nottingham, a number of comrades, who up until the election had not actually acted together as a group, organised an anti-election campaign. They have made a start, even though they were only active for about a week. Although only a small group they are having meetings and it is hoped there will be an active group in Nottingham.

Penny Weaver writes from Nottingham:—

We put up 20 "Circus" posters around the city centre, including one on the Albert Hall for Harold Wilson's meeting, but this was torn down beforehand. There was a letter in the local paper—but the writer (anonymous) thought the poster had been put up by University students as a Rag stunt—the writer said it "made his day". The letter was probably genuine though it might have been a friendly/not so friendly gag by the Nottingham Socialists. Some painting over of posters was done, but surprisingly there were few political posters, and stickers were used widely.

Three of us leafletted early morning on election day in the Market Square (City Centre) giving out "Don't Vote—Yes I've often wondered why we bloody well vote." We had planned to leaflet door to door in a specific area, but this never came off.

General Impression—not very great—one feels that it was not as much as it should have been. We should have worked harder! Four of us did the main work, two others helping one night; 3/4 people did not give their promised support. But we must bear in mind that this was our first activity and we don't know one another very well. The election (lack of) activity has by no means put us off. In fact we are meeting to discuss setting up a newsheet or magazine.

THE ORPINGTON ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

The Orpington anti-election campaign took place during the two weeks immediately preceding the Election and consisted of about 70 posters, 300 "Why Vote? It's all a double X" stickers, the sale of 50 "Election Guyed", and two letters to the *Orpington and Kentish Times*, neither of which were printed.

Long before the election campaign began, we had our problems. The first was that much of the anti-election material attacked the parties or party-leaders; and we knew that a great many Orpington voters were not going to vote for a party, but for a man—Eric Lubbock. Therefore, a lot of our appeal would be lost. Secondly, it is very hard to explain to even the most enlightened Orpingtonian that politicians are iniquitous creatures, when Lubbock has, in fact, done a great deal for Orpington—and has been seen to Money would not allow us to run a full-scale campaign, geared perhaps to a "Lubbock's a good man, but even he . . . " leaflet, and so we weren't able to employ any but the most rudimentary tactics.

The only printed recognition of our existence came in the *Evening News*, and was a completely false accusation by the Tory Agent that "an anarchist movement, known to have been active in the area" was responsible for tearing down and otherwise ruining 700 Tory posters, and blackwashing quite a few Liberal ones. We sent a letter to the local paper proclaiming our innocence of so irresponsible and un-anarchistic an act, and this was printed on 22nd.

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LETTER

Bastard ancestors ?

DEAR COMRADES,

Here and there in the terrifying mish-mash that has been Senator Goldwater's apology for a political creed, may be found, almost drowned by the surrounding ooze, phrases that no libertarian could disagree with and yet which have always been far more the shibboleths of the further Right than of true libertarians. When the Senator attacks bureaucracy and centralisation, don't we give him a baffled and cautious cheer? When he attacks the infringement of states' rights don't we hear echoes of Pi y Margall's idea of dividing and subdividing power regionally till the state is destroyed? In American history such ideas have an impeccable right-wing pedigree—when President Jackson toasted 'Our Federal Union, long may it be preserved', who replied 'Our Federal Union, next to our liberties most dear'? Thoreau? Actually it was John C. Calhoun, the Governor Wallace of his day, who only just missed the presidency. Admittedly by 'Southern rights' Calhoun really meant negroes' wrongs—but unless we happen to know this we are impressed by him, and when we get to know this we are, or should be, horrified, not least by the fact that we were impressed.

Of course this same phenomenon is to be seen in our history too. Again, who is Mr. John Christie talking of when he writes 'To . . . a strong individualist with a hearty contempt and hostility towards governmental interference with his concerns, any concentration of power in the state was suspect.' ('Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform'). Godwin? Well significantly, the century is right, but he is actually referring to the 'Tory' country gentleman. Then did you know that the most articulate opposition to the Metropolitan Police Force's creation came from the Tory Party? Anarchism is born of many thinkers, not all of whom would acknowledge their offspring; are we to acknowledge one or two bastard ancestors?

Yours fraternally,

London, N.W.8. ANON.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

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Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
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Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street
Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching

Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6
The paper edition of the **Selections** is available to readers of **FREEDOM** at 5/6 post free.

E. MALATESTA
Anarchy Paper 1/-

Better!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT 7th NOVEMBER 1964

Weeks 43 & 44

EXPENSES: 44 weeks at £70 £3.080

Contact Column

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Notting Hill An

Secretary N.H.A.G., London, W.11.
Open meeting. First 8 p.m., British Oak, Road, W.2.

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Anyone interested i sion group and folk Frisbee, 100 Bierl Bierley, Bradford.

WATFORD-HERTS

Anyone interested g Roxborough, 44 Ta Langley, Watford.

NORTH WALES

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Better!

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INCOME:			
Sales & Sub. Renewals:	£	£	
Weeks 1—42 ...	1,895		
Week 43 & 44 ...	90		
		1,985	
New Subscriptions:			
Weeks 1—42 (197)	230		
Week 43 & 44 (12)	14		
		244	
			2,229
DEFICIT			£851

DEFICIT FUND

Hove: A.R. 2/6; Stevenage: V.M. £1; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Woldingham: F.B.* 5/-; Edinburgh: B.J. 10/-; Dar-es-Salaam: D.J. 5/6; Worcester: M.S. 5/-; Ipswich: T.R. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* £1; N.W.1: F.L. 5/-; Pittsburgh: A.R. £8/17/7; Hong Kong: 11/-; Southend: P.O. 5/-; Nuneaton: D.H. 12/8; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Hayes: Anarchist Group* 5/-; New York: J.S. £1/8/-; Bromley: L.A.W. £1; Knockholt: B.R. £1/-/6; Woldingham: F.B.* 5/-; Bridgewater, U.S.A.: R.H. 4/9; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Peterborough: F.W. 3/6; Hindhead: F.N.F. 5/-; S.W.7: D.L. £2; Stoke-on-Trent: R.B. 8/2; Slough: E.C. 2/2; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; St. Austell A.J. 5/-; Reading: P.L. 5/-; Jesmond: H.N. 10/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Enfield: T.S. 1/-; Walthamstow: B.C. £1; Edinburgh: A.J. 5/-; Lewes: R.G. £1; Glasgow: J.M. 5/-; Hong Kong: M.S. 4/8; London: S.E.P. 2/6; Chelmsford: C.A. 7/-; Colne: W.L. 2/-; New York: H.B. 4/-; Northampton: P.D. 5/-; S.E.17: D.S. 5/-; N.1: T.C. £1; Saffron Walden: £5; Walton-on-Thames: D.F. 10/-.

TOTAL	£34 17 7
Previously acknowledged	£647 6 3

1964 TOTAL TO DATE £682 3 10

*Denotes Regular Contributors.

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Annual Gala
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Cleaning, painting, re-decorating. Anywhere in London area. A. W. Uloth, 30 Arundel Gardens, London, W.11.

Now Ready
Number Five of "Minus One" (minus one), the individualist anarchist journal. Obtainable from Freedom Press, price sixpence.

London
If you wish to make contact let us know.

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Bierley, Bradford.

WATFORD-HERTS
Anyone interested g
Roxborough, 44 T
Langley, Watford.

NORTH WALES
Anyone interested,
Richard Graham, c
Caernarvon Road,
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OFF-CENTRE L

DISCUSSION M

3rd Wednesday of
Robinson and M
Rumbold Road, S.W
8 p.m.
Last Thursday in m
At George Hayes',
S.E.2.
2nd Friday at Brian
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Nr. Station).

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a year, on every Sat
the first in each mo

Anarchy

ANARCHY (2/3 o
a 32-page journal o
is published 12 tim
first Saturday of th

Postal Subscription only
1 year (40 issues
6 months (20 iss
3 months (10 iss

Special Subscription for 2 copies FREE
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Printed by Express Printers, London.

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They enumerated following with which they could charge us.

1. Loitering with intent.
2. Causing public nuisance.
3. Incitement to cause a breach of the peace.
4. Litter.
5. Obstruction.

They omitted a law which I believe exists stating that no political propaganda may be distributed within the vicinity of polling station (information of this law obtained from the N.C.C.L.).

The officer then said if we didn't leave we would be arrested for obstruction.

This enquiry seemed to worry the police as they patrolled the polling stations to be, of Hayes and district from Monday to Thursday. (Charville Lane station which we partially barricaded during local election was patrolled by eight or nine polecemen).

We made no attempt to leaflet booths as immediate arrest would have been inevitable and to decrease our numbers even more didn't seem practical.

We tried canvassing very unsuccessfully, most doors were slammed in our faces.

We went out fly-posting and painting C.D. and government buildings successfully, as it was on the front page of the local rag (quote "the police hope to apprehend the criminals in the near future).

We disposed of, through letter-boxes and in street corners:—

1,000 Anarchist Alternative.
600 Why Vote?
600 Hazards of voting.
200 Assorted leaflets from Scottish Anarchists.

We had ready hay bales with placards of "Don't Vote You Sheep" in a field next to Charville Lane station but when we went to barricade the station we found the police had removed our bales and the placards had been burnt.

This is about all we had done as on Thursday we were stopped by police and threatened by political parties everywhere we went.

MIKE WAKEMAN.

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IAN ROXBOROUGH, a Watford schoolboy writes:—

"I ran an anti-vote campaign at school during the mock election. Well (and figures don't mean much), out of 450 electors, 150 abstained or spoilt their papers. [The Tories got in]."

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Notting Hill Anarchist Group

Secretary N.H.A.G., 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11.
Open meeting. First Friday each month, 8 p.m., British Oak, Westbourne Park Road, W.2.

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rost Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

NOV 15 To be announced.

NOV 22 Ted Kavanagh on: **Kronstadt.**

NOV 29 John Rety on: **Anarchist Federation of Britain: What Next?**

DEC 6 A. Rajk on: **The Myth of anarchism and revolution.**

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

Birmingham Group

Peter Neville,
12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

Bristol Federation

Irregular meetings—enquiries to c/o Martin Howells, 7 Richmond Dale, Clifton, Bristol 8.
Meets Sundays (weather and circumstances permitting), 3.30 p.m. on the Downs (Blackboy Hill).

Dundee Group

Contact Rod Cameron,
6 Westfield Place, Dundee.

Edinburgh Group

Enquiries to: Douglas Trueman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3.
Meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m. All welcome.

Glasgow Federation

Enquiries to Ronnie Alexander, c/o Kennedy, 112 Glenkirk Drive, Glasgow, W.5.

Hayes and District

Contact Mike Wakeman,
12 Hoppner Road, Hayes, Middlesex.

Manchester Group

Meetings alternate Tuesdays. Details from Graham Leigh, 5, Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire.

Merseyside Federation

Enquiries: Vincent Johnston's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

Tunbridge Wells Group

Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at J. D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex, 8 p.m.

Tyneside Federation

Enquiries: David Douglass, 6 Laski Gardens, Wardley, Gateshead, 10.

PROPOSED GROUPS

BRADFORD

Anyone interested in Anarchist discussion group and folk-singing contact Sid Frisbee, 100 Bierley House Avenue, Bierley, Bradford.

WATFORD-HERTS

Anyone interested get in touch with Ian Roxborough, 44 Tanners Hill, Abbots Langley, Watford.

NORTH WALES

Anyone interested, get in touch with Richard Graham, c/o 26 Bryn Llwyd,

BRENT, MIDDLESEX

Enquiries to Jeff Nichols, 115 Slough Lane, Kingsbury, Middlesex.

BEXLEY, KENT

Enquiries to P. J. Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Bexley Heath, Kent.

CANADA

VANCOUVER, British Columbia

Monthly Forum—Last Sunday of each

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Enquiries to Ronnie Alexander, c/o Kennedy, 112 Glenkirk Drive, Glasgow, W.5.

Hayes and District

Contact Mike Wakeman, 12 Hoppner Road, Hayes, Middlesex.

Manchester Group

Meetings alternate Tuesdays. Details from Graham Leigh, 5, Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire.

Merseyside Federation

Enquiries: Vincent Johnston's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

Tunbridge Wells Group

Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at J. D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex, 8 p.m.

Tyneside Federation

Enquiries: David Douglass, 6 Laski Gardens, Wardley, Gateshead, 10.

PROPOSED GROUPS

BRADFORD
Anyone interested in Anarchist discussion group and folk-singing contact Sid Frisbee, 100 Bierley House Avenue, Bierley, Bradford.

WATFORD-HERTS
Anyone interested get in touch with Ian Roxborough, 44 Tanners Hill, Abbots Langley, Watford.

NORTH WALES
Anyone interested, get in touch with Richard Graham, c/o 26 Bryn Llwyd, Caernarvon Road, Bangor, Caernarvonshire.

BRENT, MIDDLESEX
Enquiries to Jeff Nichols, 115 Slough Lane, Kingsbury, Middlesex.

BEXLEY, KENT
Enquiries to P. J. Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Bexley Heath, Kent.

CANADA
VANCOUVER, British Columbia
Monthly Forum—Last Sunday of each month. Enquiries to Bill Fletcher, 104 West 11th Avenue, Vancouver.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21, Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.
Last Thursday in month:
At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.
2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.
Wimbledon S.W.19, Last Saturday of each month. 8 p.m. Phone WIM 2849.

Orpington Anarchist Group

Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting, Sunday 6th December, 2.30 p.m. at "Greenways", Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson's.

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